

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 0223

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-80

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MCAF, EFIN

SUBJ: PERMREPS LUNCH DISCUSSION, JAN 15

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT LUNCH JAN 15, PERMREPS DISCUSSED US STRATEGIC NUCLEAR RE-TARGETTING AND NATO CONSULTATIONS, ATLANTIC DECLARATION, 25TH ANNIVERSARY AND POSSIBLE VISIT OF PRESIDENT NIXON TO EUROPE, MEETING OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS WITH COUNCIL AND POSSIBLE DATE OF MAR 19, JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT AND RECENT VISIT OF STAFFDEL PERLE, FUEL FOR MILITARY EXERCISES, NMA'S WITH TO ATTEND MBFR PLENARIES, AND THE REPORTEDLY MISSING SAM. END SUMMARY

U.S. STRATEGIC RE-TARGETTING

1. AT PERMREPS LUNCH JAN 15, MCAULIFFE (US) SAID THAT
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USNATO HAD BEGUN TO RECEIVE QUESTIONS FROM JOURNALISTS ABOUT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S REMARKS TO THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB IN WASHINGTON ABOUT US STRATEGIC RE-TARGETTING. BRUSSELS-BASED JOURNALISTS WERE ASKING SPECIFICALLY WHETHER THE US

HAD CONSULTED ON THIS MATTER WITH ITS ALLIES IN NATO FORA. HE SAID THAT THE US DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THESE QUESTIONS WERE SPARKED BY THE INQUISITIVENESS OF THE CORRESPONDENTS THEMSELVES OR WHETHER MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF OR THOSE OF CERTAIN DELEGATIONS WHO WERE NOT PRIVY TO SENSITIVE MATTERS HAD RAISED QUESTIONS ON THE SUBJECT.

2. MCAULIFFE CONTINUED THAT WHEN ASKED WHETHER THESE MATTERS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN NATO FORA WITH THE ALLIES, THE USNATO SPOKESMAN WAS SAYING: "YES. THIS IS NOT A NEW SUBJECT." MCAULIFFE EXPLAINED THAT ANY DIFFERENT ANSWER BY A NATO SPOKESMAN OR BY OFFICIALS IN OTHER ALLIED DELEGATIONS WHO MIGHT POSSIBLY BE UNAWARE OF WHAT HAD TRANSPIRED AT THE RECENT NPG MINISTERIAL MEETING AT THE HAGUE WOULD BE DAMAGING. HE ADDED THAT THE US DELEGATION HAD CHECKED ITS RECORDS AND HAD NOTED THE COLLOQUY BETWEEN THE NETHERLANDS DEFENSE MINISTER AND DR. SCHLESINGER AT THE HAGUE WHICH DEALT WITH THIS VERY THEME, NAMELY, THE NEED FOR STRATEGIC PTIONS AND FOR DIFFERENT GROUPS OF TARGET SETS.

3. TURKISH AMBASSADOR ERALP REMARMED HE HAD NOT BEEN AT THE HAGUE. HE AND HIS AUTHORITIES FELT THE NEED FOR FULL DISCUSSION IN THE DPC AND IN THE MILITARY COMMITTEE AS WELL OF WHAT APPEARED TO BE STRATEGIC CHANGES. CANADIAN PERMREP MENZIES ENDORSED ERALP'S STATEMENT EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR A FULLER DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT AMONG THE FOURTEEN IN ORDER THAT EACH OF THE ALLIED GOVTS CONCERNED MIGHT BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO EXPLAIN THE NEED FOR CHANGE TO ITS RESPECTIVE PARLIAMENT AND PUBLIC.

4. BELGIAN PERMREP DE STAERCKE ASSERTED INDIGNANTLY THAT HE WAS AMONG THOSE UNINFORMED ON THIS MATTER AND ASKED WHERE AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES THE US HAD CONSULTED WITH ITS ALLIES. HE DECLARED THAT IN HIS OWN LONG SERVICE WITH THE ALLIANCE HE HAD NEVER BEEN PRESENT AT A CONSULTATION WITH THE US ON A STRATEGIC TARGETTING ISSUE OF THIS SORT.

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5. MCAULIFFE REPEATED WHAT HE HAD SAID EARLIER ABOUT THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN DR. SCHLESINGER AND NETHERLANDS DEFMIN VREDELING DURING THE MOST RECENT NPG MEETING. DE STAERCKE INTERRUPTED TO ASSERT THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE WHOLE DISCUSSION HAD LASTED NO MORE THAN FIVE MINUTES AND THAT DR. SCHLESINGER HAD DEALT WITH IT IN A CURSORY AND CASUAL MANNER. HERE WAS A BRAND-NEW ISSUE, HE SAID, WHICH MERITED CAREFUL STUDY AND DELIBERATION AMONG ALL THE ALLIES. MCAULIFFE REPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT A NEW ISSUE AND THAT HE HAD PERSONALLY BEEN PRESENT AT NATO DELIBERATIONS IN THE 1960'S WHEN THE ALLIES HAD DISCUSSED THIS SAME THEME AS A RESULT OF FORMER SECRETARY MCNAMARA'S ANN ARBOR SPEECH.

6. FRG PERMREP KRAPF INTERVENED MOST HELPFULLY SAYING THAT HE HAD BEEN PRESENT AT THE HAGUE AND THAT DR. SCHLESINGER HAD DISCUSSED THE COUNTERFORCE THEME IN A PRECISE AND LEARNED WAY. IF PEOPLE HAD BEEN LISTENING THEY WOULD HAVE HEARD WHAT HE SAID.

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7. DE STAERCKE THEN CHIDED DR. LUNS, SAYING THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL SHOULD ASK MORE QUESTIONS AND TELL PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES NOT PRESENT WHAT WAS GOING ON. THE SECGEN DEFENDED HIMSELF BY SAYING THAT HE UNDERSTOOD DR. SCHLESINGER TO HAVE SAID THAT DUE TO IMPROVED WEAPONRY THE US WAS NOW CONTEMPLATING CERTAIN CHANGES IN THE TARGETTING OF ITS STRATEGIC WEAPONRY BUT NOT THAT THEY HAD ACTUALLY GONE INTO EFFECT.

8. ITALIAN PERMREP CATALANO AND MENZIES, SECONDED BY ERALP AND UK AMB PECK, THEN STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT THERE BE A FULLER DISCUSSION OF THIS ENTIRE SUBJECT IN THE DPC OR POSSIBLY IN AN NDAC MEETING AT THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE LEVEL. THE SECGEN ASKED MCAULIFFE TO REPORT THESE VIEWS TO HIS AUTHORITIES.

ATLANTIC DECLARATION OAND NATO'S TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

9. RECALLING THE LAST NAC MEETING AND THE SECGEN'S
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SUGGESTION THAT THE PERMREPS PUSH ON WITH THEIR WORK ON THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION, MENZIES EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE DATE AND THE LEVEL OF THE NATO 25TH ANNIVERSARY MEETING. HE SAW NO PROSPECT THAT THE NATO ALLIES COULD FIX A DATE SINCE SO MUCH DEPENDED ON THE OUTCOME OF THE US NEGOTIATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EC-9. GIVEN THE FORWARD SCHEDULING OF HEADS OF GOVT AND FORMINS TOO, HE NOW SAW LITTLE PROSPECT THAT ONE COULD REALISTICALLY FIX A DATE BEFORE THE LATTER PART OF APRIL; AND THAT A 25TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION IN MAY OR JUNE WOULD SEEM INCONGRUOUS.

10. LUNS SAID HE BELIEVED THE ALLIES SHOULD PRESS AHEAD WITH THE NATO DECLARATION AND THAT HE, ALTHOUGH WITHOUT ANY PARTICULAR KNOWLEDGE ON THE SUBJECT, BELIEVED IT POSSIBLE THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WOULD COME EVEN IF THE US - EC PAPER WERE NOT COMPLETELY READY.

11. KRAPF, SPEAKING AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NINE, SAID THAT EC REPS ARE HARD AT WORK ON A SHORTENED DECLARATION AND THAT HE BELIEVED REAL PROGRESS MIGHT BE VISIBLE BY THE LATTER PART OF THE MONTH. FRANCH PERMREP DE ROSE DEMURRED AND SAID THAT IN HIS JUDGEMENT A GREAT DEAL HINGED ON WHETHER AND WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON PLANS TO COME TO EUROPE. MENZIES REPLIED THAT DE ROSE HAD JUST EXPOSED THE COMPLETE DILEMMA. FRANCE HAS INSISTENTLY MAINTAINED THAT IF THE US WILL SET A DATE, BOTH DECLARATIONS WILL BE READY IN GOOD TIME. THE US HAS CONSISTENTLY AFFIRMED THAT FIRST ONE MUST MAKE THE DECISIONS AND PREPARE THE DECLARATIONS AND THEN ONE SHOULD SET THE DATE. MEANWHILE NATO AND THE ALLIES ARE LEFT HANGING IN MID-AIR. THE NATO MILITARY AND THE NATO INFORMATION SERVICE ARE PREPARING FOR CELEBRATIONS ON APRIL 4 WHILE THE COUNCIL DOES NOTHING.

12. CATALANO EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH DE ROSE ADDING THAT THERE SHOULD BE A SOLEMN CEREMONY ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY WITH PRESIDENT NIXON AND THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN ATTENDANCE. MENZIES REPLIED THAT SOME NATIONS MIGHT BE ABLE TO PUT OFF THE YEAR OF EUROPE UNTIL 1974 AND EC-9 MIGHT BE ABLE TO HOLD BACK THE CLOCK WITH THE RESULT THAT 1973 EXTENDED WELL INTO JAN 74; BUT THAT APRIL 4 WAS GETTING CLOSER EVERY DAY.

MILITARY CEREMONIES MARKING TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
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13. DURING THE COURSE OF THE LUNCH, LUNS SAID THE NATO MILITARY ARE PLANNING SMALL-SCALE AND APPROPRIATE MILITARY CEREMONIES TO BE HELD ON APRIL 4, 1974, THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY.

COUNCIL MEETING WITH POLITICAL DIRECTORS

14. LUNS RECALLED THAT THE BELGIAN GOVT HAS OFFERED TO

HOST AN INFORMAL LUNCHEON WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS OF THE VARIOUS FOREIGN OFFICES TO MEET WITH THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES IN AN INFORMAL ENVIRONMENT AND WITHOUT A REALLY FIXED AGENDA. IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE LUNCHEON WOULD BE OPEN-ENDED SO THAT THOSE POLITICAL DIRECTORS WHO DID NOT WISH TO ATTEND WOULD FEEL NO EMBARRASSMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE BELGIAN GOVT, AS HE UNDERSTOOD MATTERS, WOULD INVITE ALL FIFTEEN PERMREPS TO ATTEND.

15. DE STAERCKE INTERJECTED TO DESCRIBE THE EXPERIMENTAL CHARACTER OF THIS LUNCHEON MEETING, TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT ALL

POLITICAL DIRECTORS OR THEIR DEPUTIES WOULD FIND IT POSSIBLE TO ATTEND AND TO PROPOSE FEB 12 FOR THE FIRST SUCH SESSION.

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16. DE ROSE AND CATALANO INTERPOSED SOME OBJECTIONS. THE LATTER SAID HIS FOREIGN OFFICE ENTERTAINED GRAVE DOUBTS ABOUT THE DESIRABILITY OF SUCH MEETINGS BUT THAT IF A LARGE NUMBER OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS DID ATTEND, THE ITALIANS WILL NOT BE ABSENT. HE DID HOWEVER, OBJECT TO THE FEB 12 DATE WHICH WOULD CONFLICT WITH THE FEB 11 MEETING OF THE ENERGY ACTION GROUP IN WASHINGTON UK, GREEK, FRG, CANADIAN, NETHERLANDS, PORTUGUESE, NORWEGIAN AND DANISH AMBASSADORS THEN DECLARED THEIR GOVERNMENTS FAVORABLE TO SUCH A MEETING OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS, BUT ALL OBJECTED TO THE FEB 12 DATE AS MOST INOPPORTUNE.

17. DE ROSE INTERVENED AGAIN TO SAY THAT FRANCE CONSIDERED IT USEFUL THAT THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEET WITH EACH OTHER BUT THE QUAI D'ORSAY BELIEVED THAT IF SUCH GATHERINGS OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS WERE MADE A REGULAR FEATURE OF ALLIANCE CONSULTATION, THAT THE STATUS OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE REDUCED AND THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MEETING IN PERMANENT CONFIDENTIAL

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SESSION WOULD LOSE STATURE. DANISH AMB SVART SECONDED DE ROSE. HE SAID THAT COPENHAGEN IS OPPOSED TO INSTITUTIONALIZING MEETINGS OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS BUT THAT IT WOULD NOT OPPOSE THE EXPERIMENTAL LUNCHEON WHICH THE BELGIANS ARE SO KINDLY OFFERING TO HOST.

18. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION ABOUT DATES FOR THE LUNCHEON, DE STAERCKE PROPOSED MAR 19. IT WAS AGREED EACH PERMREP WOULD PUT THIS PROPOSAL BACK TO HIS GOVERNMENT AND REQUEST ACCEPTANCE.

JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT

19. DE STAERCKE RECOUNTED AT LENGTH HIS CONVERSATION WITH MR. RICHARD PERLE, STAFF AIDE TO SEN. JACKSON, A MEETING THAT HAD IMPRESSED HIM DEEPLY. DE STAERCKE TOLD HOW SEN. JACKSON, FRIEND OF NATO, WAS DOING HIS BEST BY MEANS OF THIS AMENDMENT TO FIGHT OFF THE EFFORTS OF SEN. MANSFIELD AND FULBRIGHT TO REDUCE US FORCE LEVELS IN EUROPE. PERLE HAD STRONGLY RECOMMENDED TO DE STAERCKE THAT THE ALLIES, DESPITE THE CHANGED MONETARY AND ENERGY CIRCUMSTANCES, DO THEIR BEST TO MAKE A GESTURE ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THIS AMENDMENT. DE STAERCKE HAD TOLD PERLE OF THE WILLINGNESS OF THE BELGIAN GOVT TO HELP IN THIS REGARD. PERLE HAD SUGGESTED TO DE STAERCKE THAT NATO HAVE AN AMBASSADOR OR SOME AGENCY IN WASHINGTON TO EXPLAIN THE ALLIANCE'S NEEDS TO THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. FAILING THAT, PERLE URGED THAT ALLIED AMBASSADORS ESTABLISH CONTINUING CONTACT WITH FRIENDLY SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN SO AS TO COUNTERBALANCE THE LOBBYING WHICH SOVIET DIPLOMATS ARE CONDUCTING ON CAPITOL HILL WITH SEN. MANSFIELD, SEN. FULBRIGHT AND OTHERS WHO SHARE THEIR VIEWS. KRAPF SUPPORTED THIS IDEA.

20. LUNS SAID THAT THE USG CAN ONLY LOBBY ON CAPITOL HILL TO A CERTAIN EXTENT. HE RECALLED PRESIDENT NIXON'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO ARRANGE AN APPOINTMENT FOR HIM WITH SEN. MANSFIELD, WITH THE LATTER PROFESSING TO BE "TOO BUSY" TO MEET THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF NATO.

21. DE STAERCKE URGED THAT THE NAC NOT REMAIN SEDENTARY BUT GO IN A BODY TO MEET ON ONE OR TWO OCCASIONS IN NORTH CONFIDENTIAL

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AMERICA, IN BOTH THE US AND CANADA, TO REMIND THE
CITIZENS THERE OF THE TIES THAT BIND THE ALLIES TOGETHER.

22. PECK SAID PERMREPS SHOULD DO MORE TO HELP DONALD RUMSFELD
WHEN HE IS VISITED BY CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS AND THAT THEIR
GOVTS SHOULD MAKE A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO GET SENATORS
AND CONGRESSMEN TO VISIT WITH ALLIED MILITARY FORCES IN THE
FIELD. MCAULIFFE AGREED AND SAID HE THOUGHT IT USEFUL FOR
MEMEBERS OF THE US CONGRESS TO SEE PHYSICAL THINGS LIKE THE
AIRCRAFT SHELTERS WHICH HAD BEEN CONSTRUCTED WITH EDIP FUNDS.

FUEL FOR NATO MILITARY EXERCISES

23. LUNS REPORTED THAT AT A RECENT LUNCHEON WITH THE SACEUR
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE AND THE NEW CINCHAN,
THEY HAD RAISED WITH HIM THE PROBLEM THAT PERTOLEUM SHORTAGES
ARE POSING FOR NATO EXERCISES. THEY CITED IN PARTICULAR THE
CASE OF ARGOS EXPRESS, A MILITARY MANEUVER INVOLVING THE ACE
MOBILE FORCE WHICH WAS TO HAVE BEEN HELD IN NORWAY BUT WHICH
HAD TO BE CANCELLED DUE TO THE INABILITY OF THE NORWEGIAN GOVT

TO PRODUCE THE NECESSARY FUEL. IT WOULD THEREFORE NOW BE CON-
DUCED ONLY AS A PAPER EXERCISE. LUNS URGED THAT THE ALLIED
GOVTS INSURE THAT IMPORTANT MILITARY EXERCISES SUCH AS
THIS ONE CONTINUE TO BE CARRIED ON LEST NATO'S DEFENSES AND ITS
CONVENTIONAL DETTERENT SUFFER.

24. MENZIES SAIDX HE UNDERSTOOD THAT MOST ALLIES HAD REDUCED
FUEL USAGE BY THEIR MILITARY FORCES BUT THAT IT SEEMED T
HIM THAT WITH PROPOER MANAGEMENT THE VARIOUS ALLIED MILITARY
FORCES COULD HUSBAND SUCH STOCKS AND THEN UTILIZE THEM FOR
THOOSE MANEUVERS WHICH ARE REALLY IMPORTANT. HE CALLED PAR-
TICULAR ATTENTION TO THE SEPT-OCT 1974 PERIOD DURING
WHICH NATO CONDUCTS MOST OF ITS MILITARY EXERCISES AND
SUGGESTED THAT MILITARY PLANNERS GO TO WORK AND ALLOCATE THEIR
FUEL SO THAT ONE OR MORE MAJOR OIL COMPANIES CAN PROVIDE ONE
OR MORE TANKERS IN THE AREAS WHERE THESE MANEUVERS ARE TO OCCUR.
HE SUPPORTED THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE SECGEN BUT NEVER-
THELESS BELIEVED THAT PERTOLEUM EXPERTS AND MILITARY PLANNERS
SHOULD DO SOME THINKING AND PLANNING IN REALISTIC TERMS SO AS
TO MAINTAIN THE CREDIBILITY OF ALLIED DEFENS

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